

THE SCAFFOLD "GEORGE"
OF CHARLES I.



SIR RALPH PAYNE-GALLWEY

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THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE' OF
CHARLES I



*Charles I. In three aspects. Van Dyck, 1637.
see notes on plates p. 97.*

LONDON EDWARD ARNOLD 1908

A HISTORY OF
THE GEORGE
WORN ON THE SCAFFOLD
BY CHARLES I

BY
SIR RALPH PAYNE-GALLWEY, B^T.
AUTHOR OF 'THE MYSTERY OF MARIA STELLA'

ILLUSTRATED

LONDON
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INTRODUCTION

WHEN looking through some old family papers recently, I was greatly interested in reading a correspondence of 1788 between the Prince of Wales (subsequently George iv.) and my great-uncle, Sir Ralph Payne (afterwards Lord Lavington). The latter visited Italy shortly before the death of the Young Pretender. As that miserable and dissipated man was, at the time of Sir Ralph's visit to Rome, so broken in health that he was not likely to live, and as he was supposed to have in his possession the Lesser George worn by Charles i. on the scaffold, the Prince of Wales desired Sir Ralph to use his best endeavours to procure for him the historic jewel.

INTRODUCTION

The letters connected with Sir Ralph's mission suggested an endeavour on my part to identify this George of such sad associations. I now submit the result of my researches to the reader.

R. P-G.

THIRKLEBY PARK,
THIRSK, *September 1908.*

C O N T E N T S

	P A G E
THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER	13
I. TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CHARLES I. THE HANDING OF THE GEORGE BY THE KING TO BISHOP JUXON ON THE SCAFFOLD	17
II. THE GEORGE DESCRIBED BY ASHMOLE, HERBERT, AND MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ. JAMES II. AND THE GEORGE. THE PRETENDERS AND THE GEORGE. SIR RALPH PAYNE'S MISSION TO ITALY TO RE- COVER THE GEORGE FOR THE PRINCE OF WALES. CARDINAL YORK	40
III. THE RESTORATION OF THE GEORGE TO CHARLES II.	56
IV. THE HOLLAR GEORGE. THE GEORGE OWNED BY THE DUCHESS OF ALBANY	71
V. IDENTIFICATION OF THE SCAFFOLD GEORGE. SUM- MARY OF ITS HISTORY	86
NOTES ON THE PLATES	97



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

(See Notes on Plates, pp. 97-103)

	FACING PAGE
THE TRIPLE PICTURE OF CHARLES I. By Van-dyck, 1637	<i>Frontispiece</i>
CHARLES I. By Gunst	13
Trial of Charles I. From Nalson	19
CHARLES I. AT HIS TRIAL. From the original portrait by E. Bower in the collection of Sir R. Pole-Carew	20
ARCHBISHOP JUXON. From the picture at St. John's College, Oxford	24
EXECUTION OF CHARLES I. From a contemporary print	27
THE WARRANT TO EXECUTE CHARLES I. From the original in the House of Lords	36
A LESSER GEORGE. From Hollar's drawing	42
THE YOUNG PRETENDER. By O. Humphrey, R.A. 1776	54
CARDINAL YORK. From a medallion of 1788	
COLONEL THOMLINSON AND COLONEL HACKER	62

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS (*continued*)

	FACING PAGE
CHARLES I. AND CROMWELL. After Vandyck	71
CHARLES I. By Mytens, 1628	74
CHARLES I. AND QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA. By Vandyck, 1634	84
A LESSER GEORGE in the Royal Collection at Windsor	90
CHARLES I. AT HIS TRIAL. From the picture at All Souls College, Oxford	92
CHARLES I. From Vandyck's Triple Picture	<i>on Cover</i>



CHARLES I

From a very rare print by Gunst. Original picture unknown.

THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER

THIS famous Order was instituted by Edward III. about 1350, as a reward for exceptional bravery or success in warfare on the part of his comrades in arms.

The Order was founded in honour of The Holy Trinity, The Virgin Mary, St. George of Cappadocia, and St. Edward the Confessor.

St. George was, however, as patron of England, the chief protector of the Order, and for this reason it has sometimes been called 'The Order of St. George.'

The original Knights of the Garter numbered twenty-five, exclusive of the King of England, the *ex officio* Sovereign of the Order.

Though this number is still adhered to as regards the ordinary Knights, it has been decreed that descendants of George I., and foreign Sovereigns, may be admitted as extra Knights of the Order.

King Edward VII., moreover, has admitted his Consort as a Lady of the Order, thus reviving a practice which had fallen into abeyance.

There are now twenty-eight British and foreign Kings and Princes who are members of the Order, besides the twenty-five ordinary Knights.

Down to the time of the death of Queen Elizabeth,

ORDER OF THE GARTER

foreign Sovereigns were frequently admitted as ordinary Knights, but from that time to 1814, this custom ceased, and it was only in the last century that it became usual to admit foreign Kings and Princes as extra Knights.

Since the death of Elizabeth, the Order has been bestowed on only four Commoners, and rarely on any peer below the rank of an English Earl. The whole number of Knights of the Garter elected in the five hundred and sixty years from the foundation of the Order by Edward III. down to the present day, is, as nearly as can be ascertained, about eight hundred and twenty.

Though its military character has been relinquished, it still retains its position as the oldest and most distinguished Order of Knighthood in Europe. Highly coveted as the Order is, its precedence is after the eldest sons of Barons and before Privy Councillors having no higher rank.

The Insignia of the Order consist of The Garter, Mantle, Surcoat, Star, Hat, Collar and George. Of these, the Collar was added by Henry VII., and the Star by Charles I.

The chief distinction of the Order is the Garter, now of dark blue velvet, though originally of light blue silk. It is about an inch in width, with the motto on it in gold letters, instead of, as formerly, in diamonds.

The Garter which Charles I. wore at his execution was ornamented with over four hundred diamonds (p. 61). The Garter is, of course, only worn with knee-breeches and stockings, and encircles the left leg just below the knee; in the case of a Lady Sovereign,

ORDER OF THE GARTER

or a lady member of the Order, it is fastened round the left arm, near the elbow.

The Mantle is of dark blue velvet. The Surcoat is of crimson velvet. Both have an eight-pointed silver star embroidered on the left shoulder. The Hood is also of crimson velvet, and the Hat is of black velvet with white Ostrich and black Heron feathers.

The Collar consists of twenty-six enamelled gold medals showing alternately a white and red rose, each encompassed by a garter with the motto *Honi soit qui mal y pense*. Between the medals are twenty-six true-lovers knots, also of gold and enamel.

From the Collar hangs the Great George ; an open-cut figure in gold of St. George slaying the Dragon. The afore-mentioned insignia are only worn in great State ceremonies.

On more ordinary occasions, a Knight of the Garter wears a silver Star on the left breast, the Garter on his left leg, if in court dress, and over his left shoulder a broad blue ribbon, which, passing across his breast, slopes down to his right side. From this ribbon, near the right hip, the Lesser George is suspended, called lesser in opposition to the Great George which is attached to the collar when full dress is worn.

The Lesser George is of gold, in the form of a pendant medallion, and has in its centre, in relief, a representation of St. George killing the Dragon, surrounded with the Garter showing the motto on it.

The Lesser George is first noticed in Statutes of 1519, when it was ordered to be worn at all times by Knights of the Order, suspended from the neck by a chain when

ORDER OF THE GARTER

they were in armour, at other times by a ribbon of silk ; so that in case of war, sickness, or long voyages they might be distinguished. The chain and the ribbon were so short that the Lesser George hung in front of the breast. They were exchanged for the broad ribbon in later times ; and the latter being of greater length, entailed the position of the George being near the right hip.

It was a Lesser George that Charles I. had on at his trial and execution, and which, with its blue ribbon, he took from off his neck and handed to Bishop Juxon on the scaffold—just before the axe fell.

The history of this George that Charles I., in his dying moments, gave to Bishop Juxon, and its sad and romantic associations, I have endeavoured to trace in the following pages.

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’ OF CHARLES I

I

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CHARLES I. THE HANDING OF THE GEORGE BY THE KING TO BISHOP JUXON ON THE SCAFFOLD

WHEN Colonel Pride effected his famous ‘Purge’ in December 1648, he terrified the House of Lords into self-effacement, and by arrests, ‘seclusions,’¹ and intimidations, reduced the House of Commons (which then contained about five hundred members) to a miserable remnant of some eighty. This remnant arrogated to itself the sovereignty of the nation, and a majority, which probably did not exceed some twenty-seven men in all, actually

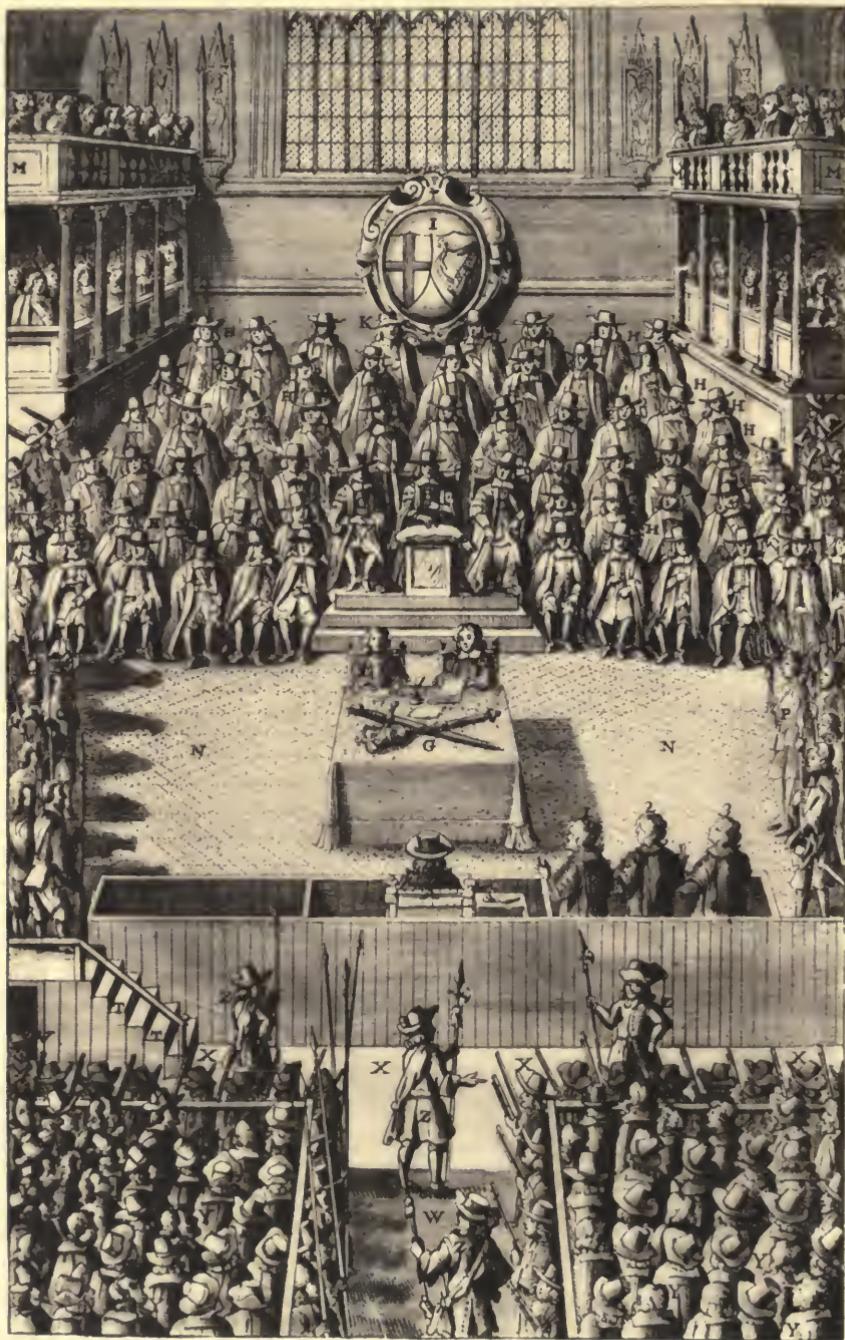
¹ The term ‘seclusion’ was used for the exclusion of members of Parliament from the House of Commons. Ninety-six members were secluded and forty-seven others arrested by Pride; others were intimidated. As a result, in the thirteen divisions taken in three months following the ‘Purge,’ the largest total vote was eighty-two, the smallest thirty-eight.

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

ordered the trial of the King, and appointed a Commission of a hundred and thirty-five persons to act as a tribunal for that purpose. Of these, forty-nine never sat or acted.

This Court met in Westminster Hall on Saturday, the 20th of January 1649; and Charles I. was brought before it. We have full accounts of the proceedings ; for not only was our Revolution almost as productive of pamphlets as was that of France in the following century, but it also caused the birth of many weekly newspapers, which for the most part declared that their object was not so much the dissemination of news as the prevention of false reports.

Charles was charged with high treason. He declined to answer until he was informed by what authority he was arrested. He was, therefore, remanded until the 22nd ; and, as he then still refused to recognise his accusers in any way, he was again remanded until the 23rd, when, as



TRIAL OF CHARLES I IN WESTMINSTER HALL

KEY TO THE PLATE OF
THE TRIAL OF CHARLES I.

- A. THE KING.
- B. PRESIDENT BRADSHAW.
- C, D. LISLE AND SAY, ASSISTANTS OF THE PRESIDENT.
- E, F. CLERKS AT TABLE, G.
- H. BENCHES FOR THE COMMISSIONERS.
- I. ACHIEVEMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH.
- K. OLIVER CROMWELL.
- L. HENRY MARTIN.
- M. GALLERY FOR SPECTATORS.
- N. RAISED FLOOR OF THE COURT.
- O. PASSAGE FROM COURT OF WARDS.
- P. PASSAGE FROM EXCHEQUER CHAMBER.
- Q. THE GUARD THAT BROUGHT THE KING TO AND FROM THE COURT.
- R. PASSAGE FROM STAIRHEAD TO KING'S SEAT, KEPT EMPTY.
- S. [1, 2, 3]. THE COUNSEL OF THE COMMONWEALTH.
- T. STAIRS BY WHICH THE KING ENTERED AND LEFT THE COURT.
- V. PASSAGE FROM SIR R. COTTON'S HOUSE¹ INTO WESTMINSTER HALL, WHERE THE KING WAS DETAINED AMONG SOLDIERS UNTIL CALLED INTO COURT.
- W, X. FLOOR OF WESTMINSTER HALL.
- Y. THE PUBLIC.
- Z. OFFICERS.

From 'a True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the trial of King Charles I. Taken by J. Nalson, LL.D., Jan. 4th, 1683.' London, 1684.

John Nalson lived 1638-1686. He was a clergyman, historian, and royalist pamphleteer.

¹ The King was lodged in Sir R. Cotton's house during his trial.

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

before, he adhered to his previous determination not to plead. On the 24th and 25th some thirty witnesses were heard in the King's absence, and on the 26th the Court (also in his absence) agreed upon the sentence. On Saturday, the 27th of January, the King was once more brought before the Court, and received the sentence that, 'as a tyrant, traitor and murderer,' he should be put to death 'by severing his head from his body.'

At no meeting of the Court had as many as half of the appointed Commissioners attended; only fifty-nine signed the death-sentence, though some seventy were present when it was pronounced. A secret fear of a terrible day of retribution was ever present in the minds of the rebels. Hence it was that so many of them were absent from the trial of the King, or declined to commit themselves by attaching their signatures to his death-sentence.

Charles had slept during the week of his trial



CHARLES I AS HE SAT IN COURT AT HIS TRIAL

*From the original picture by E. Bower, in the possession of
Sir Reginald Pole-Carew, at Antony, Cornwall. (Life Size).*

(See notes on plates p. 97).

OF CHARLES I

at Sir Robert Cotton's house in Old Palace Yard. The night of this fatal Saturday the 27th, and daylight of the Sunday following, he passed at Whitehall. On the Sunday evening he was removed to St. James's Palace, probably in order that his hours of prayer might not be disturbed by the noise of the carpenters building his scaffold. After his sentence the King constantly received the ministrations of Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London. In attendance was also Thomas Herbert, Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, who had been placed about the King by Parliament in 1647, and who had become deeply attached to him. Another attendant was Colonel Thomlinson (of Whitby, Yorks.), the commander of the Parliamentary guard in charge of the King. We read¹ that the Colonel was 'so civil both towards his

¹ *Memoirs of the Last Two Years of the Reign of King Charles I.* By Sir Thomas Herbert, Bt. London, 1702. Herbert was famous as an author and traveller. He was born 1606, created a baronet in 1660, and died 1682.

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

Majesty and such as attended him, that he gained the King’s good opinion.’ When at length the Colonel had to hand his prisoner over to the officers charged with his execution, the King gave him his gold toothpick-case, and begged him to remain near him until the end.

Herbert has left us a most touching account of the King’s last hours. As his narrative was written from memory, more than thirty years after the execution, it naturally has a few inaccuracies about small details, but it is essentially a trustworthy document. On the Sunday, January the 28th, Herbert was ordered by the King to fetch from Lady Wheeler, the King’s laundress, a sealed box, which contained some diamonds and jewels, mostly broken Georges and Garters. ‘You see’ (said the King) ‘all the wealth now in my power to give to my two children.’ He referred to those two of his children who were then in England; Princess Elizabeth, aged thirteen, and

OF CHARLES I

the Duke of Gloucester, who was eight. He received the children on the Monday at St. James's Palace, though he declined to see any other of his relatives. When ‘they came to take their sad farewell of the King, their Father, and ask his blessing . . . he gave them all his jewels save the George he wore.’ After talking with them for some time, he turned to the window as they departed, but ‘at the opening of the room-door, the King returned hastily from the window, and kissed them and blessed them again, and so parted.’ He gave the Princess two seals set with diamonds, of which we shall hear again. Both of these children died young: the Princess at the age of fifteen, the Duke at the age of twenty.

On the following morning, Tuesday the 30th January, about ten o'clock, the King, accompanied by Bishop Juxon, Mr. Herbert, Colonel Thomlinson, and Colonel Hacker, the latter being the

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

officer charged with the execution, walked rapidly, for it was cold,¹ through the Park from St. James's Palace to Whitehall, following mainly the line of the present Mall. The Banqueting House (now the United Service Museum) was then, as now, one of the chief ornaments of London. On a level with its southern end a lofty and handsome gateway stood across the broad roadway; and it is generally accepted that the scaffold was placed in the angle formed by the Banqueting House and the north side of this gate. When the King reached Whitehall the scaffold was not completed; he therefore retired for prayer with the Bishop, who read to him St. Matthew's account of the Crucifixion (ch. xxvii.). The King imagined that Juxon had purposely selected this as appropriate to the occasion, and was not a little affected when he learned that it

¹ Sir Philip Warwick writes that it was a very cold day, and in *Evelyn's Diary* we find it recorded that on January 22nd the Thames had been frozen over.



ARCHBISHOP JUXON

From the picture at St. John's College, Oxford.

(See notes on plates p. 100).

OF CHARLES I

happened to be the ordinary second lesson of that morning. At about two o'clock he was summoned to his doom. He passed to the scaffold through the Banqueting House, and out of a window,¹ either of the Banqueting House, or, as some historians affirm, of a small building attached to its northern end.² Herbert was so grief-stricken that he could not accompany his master beyond the window. On the scaffold were present, the Bishop, the two Colonels [Thomlinson and Hacker], and the executioner and his assistant, both masked, besides a few other persons, probably soldiers.

¹ Sir Thomas Herbert writes ‘a passage broken through the wall,’ though he probably meant through an aperture caused by the removal of a window and the part of the wall between the window-sill and the floor. In any case, the opening was level with the scaffold and led directly on to it.

² If the King passed to the scaffold through the window of a small extension building at the northern end of the Banqueting Hall, then the scaffold would, of course, have been placed against its front, a little north of the position described above. Though there are many prints of the execution, which were produced shortly after the tragedy, they do not agree in details, and were most of them probably sketched from imagination or hearsay.

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

The late Mr. Inderwick, K.C., through a misreading of a contemporary newspaper, erroneously concluded that the King’s cousin, the Duke of Richmond, was present. There is also an unwarranted tradition, favoured by Lord Macaulay, that Stephen Fox, ancestor of the Lords Holland and Ilchester, was likewise on the scaffold.

Though many thousands of persons witnessed the tragedy, there are, curious to relate, only two or three brief accounts existing which purport to be those of eye-witnesses.

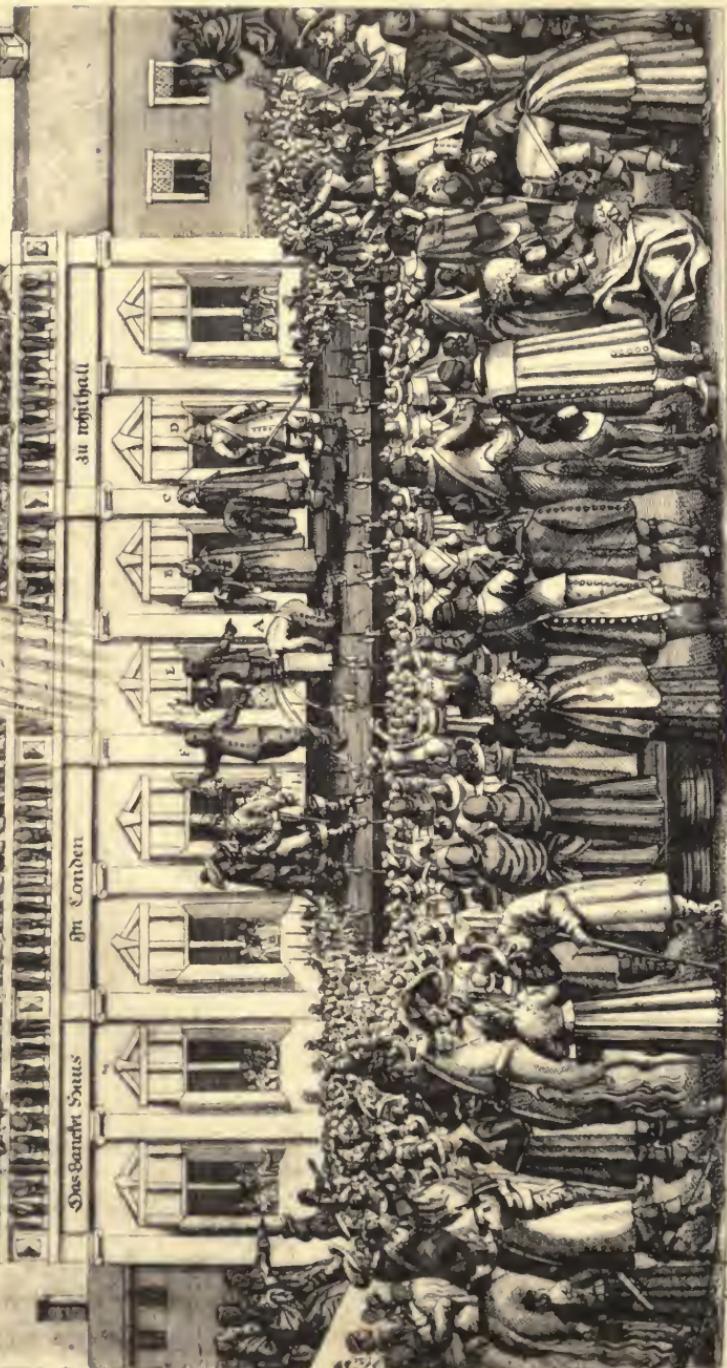
Sir Philip Warwick¹ tells us that a friend of his, who viewed the scene from the roof of Wallingford House (on the site of the present Admiralty), ‘saw the King come out of the Banqueting House on to the scaffold with the same unconcernedness and motion that he usually had when he entered into it on a masque-night.’

¹ *Memoires of the Reigne of King Charles I.* London, 1701. Warwick, a royalist politician and historian, was born in 1609 and died in 1683.

Abbildung des gewalttümlichen in der Christen heil rie
König von Groß Britanniens

erhörd. Es ist der König Charles I.

Seinen und Freunde



EXECUTION OF CHARLES I AT WHITEHALL, 30TH JANUARY 1649

From a contemporary print.

*KEY TO THE PLATE OF
THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.*

- A. THE KING.
- B. BISHOP JUXON.
- C. COLONEL THOMLINSON.
- D. COLONEL HACKER.
- E, F. EXECUTIONERS.

From a contemporary foreign broadsheet.

This print is of historical value, as it gives the names of persons who are known from other sources to have actually been on the scaffold. It will be observed that the Bishop holds some of the King's clothing, among which the George and its ribbon are clearly visible.

It is the most trustworthy of the many prints of the kind that appeared very shortly after the execution. There is, however, one point in it that is open to question, and this is the block, which it is now generally admitted was much lower than usually portrayed, in fact so low that the King lay almost prone on the floor of the scaffold, his neck resting on a small log of wood.

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

Another of Sir Philip’s friends, Dr. Farrar, a physician (‘a man of pious heart but fanciful brain, for this was he that would have had the King and Parliament decide their business by lot’), gained such a place of vantage near the scaffold that he assured Sir Philip ‘as he had observed the King before very majestic and steady, so when he had laid down his neck upon the block, he (Dr. Farrar), standing at some distance from him in a right line, perceived his eye as quick and lively as ever he had seen it.’

In Parr’s *Life* of Archbishop Usher we read that this Prelate was also on the roof of Wallingford House. ‘When the Lord Primate came upon the leads the King was in his speech ; the Lord Primate stood still and said nothing, but sighing and lifting up his hands and eyes (full of tears) towards heaven, seemed to pray earnestly; but when His Majesty had done speaking, and

OF CHARLES I

had pulled off his cloak and doublet and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and when the villains in vizards began to put up his hair, the good Bishop, no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked feat now ready to be executed, grew pale and began to faint.'

Philip Henry, the celebrated nonconformist preacher (being then eighteen years of age), was also at Whitehall when the King was beheaded. In his *Life* we read that :¹

' . . . with a very sad heart he saw that tragical blow struck. Two things he used to speak of, that he took notice of himself that day, which I know not whether any of the historians mention. One was, that at the instant when the blow was given, there was such a dismal universal groan among the thousands of people that were within sight of it (as it were with one consent) as he never heard before, and desired he might never hear the like again, nor see such a cause for it. The other was,

¹ *Account of the Life and Death of Philip Henry, Minister of the Gospel.* London: 1712.

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

that immediately after the stroke was struck, there was, according to order, one troop marching from Charing Cross towards King Street, and another from King Street towards Charing Cross, purposely to disperse and scatter the people, and to divert the dismal thoughts which they could not but be filled with by driving them to shift everyone for his own safety.’

These records agree with all the newspapers and other contemporary reports, and with the noble lines of the republican Marvell, who, in his Ode in honour of Cromwell, writes of the King’s death :

‘ He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene,
 But with his keener eye
The axe’s edge did try ;

Nor called the gods with vulgar spite
To vindicate his helpless right,
 But bowed his comely head
Down, as upon a bed.’

We may summarise what happened on the

OF CHARLES I

scaffold in a few words. The King made a speech of some length, in which he used the very modern-sounding phrase that he died ‘a martyr of the people.’ As the spectators were too far off to hear him, he addressed himself mainly to Colonel Thomlinson. There would seem, however, to have been persons near enough to the King to take down at least part of his speech. After he had concluded, he exchanged a few spiritual words with the Bishop, to whom he gave several articles to be delivered to friends. Lastly he gave him his George¹, with the word ‘Remember’ (one contemporary account

¹ In the year of the execution scores of books and pamphlets were published, at home and abroad, dealing with the life and death of Charles I. Many of these refer to the George, but I will quote only three extracts here:—

I. *King Charles' Speech*, published by authority, and printed by Peter Cole at the Sign of the Printing press in Cornhill, 1649:

‘The King said to the executioner “is my hair well?” Then the King took off his cloak and his George, giving his George to Dr. Juxon, saying, “Remember.”’

II. *Tragicum Theatrum*, published at Amsterdam, 1649:

‘He handed the likeness of St. George—which was hung by a silken ribbon

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

says ‘Remember me to my son Charles,’ which has a false ring about it) ; he then laid his head upon the block, gave presently a signal, and his neck was severed at one blow. The body was immediately handed over to four of the King’s household — Herbert, Mildmay, Preston, and Joyner ; and it was buried at Windsor, in a storm of snow, a few days later.¹

Herbert tells us that immediately after the King’s death he met Fairfax, then Lord General and Cromwell’s superior officer, in Whitehall, who, to his surprise, asked him how the King did ? Though we know that Fairfax was opposed

to his neck, and which he had taken off—to Bishop Juxon, with the words “I wish you to give this to my son the Prince.”

III. B. Whitelock, 1605-1675. *Memorials of English Affairs from 1625 to 1660*:

“I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown where no disturbance can be,” said the King.

“You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown, a good exchange” was the response of the Bishop ; and then the King took off his cloak, and gave the George to Dr. Juxon, saying—“Remember.”

¹ There is a church at Tonbridge Wells dedicated to King Charles the Martyr.

OF CHARLES I

to the King's execution, it is curious that he should have been kept in ignorance of the affair until after it had taken place ! Herbert also met Cromwell on the same afternoon.

While the contemporary English, French and Dutch reports of the execution are, as has been stated, in general agreement, there were some strange inconsistencies in their accounts. For instance, a French narrative¹ makes a quaint blunder over one of our principal courts of law (King's Bench) in the statement that the King was brought before 'an inferior judge named Kingsbinch (*un juge subalterne qui s'appelle Kingsbinch*).'² It is, however, concerning the identification of the executioners, which was a constant topic of argument for many years after the event, that the greatest divergence of opinion exists. Before the execution, a London paper² wrote

¹ *Relation véritable de la morte barbare du Roy d'Angleterre.* Paris, 1649.

² *The Perfect Weekly Account*, from Wednesday 24th January to Wednesday 31st January, 1648/9.

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

that 'as Gregory Brandon, the ordinary executioner, was reluctant, many of those that were formerly in the King's army have offered themselves.' We find in a book published in 1649,¹ that Gregory Brandon's son, Richard, performed the deed, and died of remorse within six months. The French account referred to has it that the two masked executioners 'were believed to be Fairfax and Cromwell, because they were not seen by any one all that day'; but this, we know, is false. At the trial of one Hulett after the Restoration, a soldier named Gittens testified that Colonel Hewson had sworn thirty-eight of his men—Hulett among them—to secrecy, and then offered £100 and promotion to any one who would kill the King. All refused, but Gittens believed that he recognised Hulett on the scaffold. Other witnesses confirmed this, and Hulett was convicted and sentenced to death; but the autho-

¹ *The Confession of Richard Brandon, the Hangman.* London, 1649.

OF CHARLES I

rities seem to have distrusted the evidence against him, as he was reprieved.

A letter from one Kent,¹ written at Venice a few weeks after the King's death, states that 'a colonel, formerly a brazier, with his servant, both masked, were those who cut the thread of His Majesty's life.' This theory is to some extent confirmed by a story of Lilly the astrologer,² who tells us that on the next Sunday but one after the execution, Spavin, Secretary to Lieutenant-General Cromwell, with some other friends, came to dine with him, and various opinions were given with regard to the person who had slain the King. Spavin called Lilly aside, and told him that to his knowledge it was Lieutenant-Colonel Joyce who had done the deed. 'There is no man knows this but my master, Cromwell, Commis-sary Ireton, and myself.' This story got abroad

¹ Printed in Ellis's *Original Letters*, series n. vol. iii. London, 1827.

² W. Lilly's *History of His Life and Times*. London, 1715.

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

after the Restoration; and the Journals of the House of Commons record that on the 2nd June 1660, Lilly was sent for, ‘with a view to his discovering the person employed in putting to death his late Majesty, King Charles.’ After the examination of Lilly, the Commons at once ordered Colonel Joyce and Hugh Peters, the fanatic preacher,¹ to be brought before them, but Joyce had fled to the Continent, and Peters was in hiding. The latter was, however, ar-

¹ A contemporary broadsheet of Strasburg asserts that the executioners were ‘Peter, formerly a preacher at Rotterdam, and Fox a colonel.’ Now, Hugh Peters, who was in Anglican orders, always signed his name ‘Peter,’ and had been for some years a chaplain at Rotterdam. Though there is no direct evidence to identify Peters as one of the headsman, the above extract is curious when taken in connection with the examination of Lilly by the Commons, and the immediate order to arrest Peters as a result. Owing to his wild clamouring for the King’s death, Peters was especially obnoxious to the Royalists. At his trial he said that he did not leave his chamber on the day of the execution! One witness, however, swore that he saw two masked men go into a room after the death of the King, and that out of the room came Peters and the hangman!

It would have been better for Peters if he could have proved that he was publicly seen on the fatal day! See also reference to Peters, p. 98.

At the High Court of Justice for the Tryal and Judgment of Charles
Stewart King of England January 29th Anno Domini 1648. /

Whereas Charles Stewart King of England is and remaneth attainted and condemned of high treason
and other high Offences and Practices upon Saturday last pronounced against him by this Court sent to the King Regis
for damages of his life from his body if he remaneth in prison yet remaneth to his doing Defects or Absences to himself and ~
to others given to his place of Confinement in the open Strand before Newgate - day of
this instant January Between the hours of Nine in the morning and after in the afternoon of the same
day at full Office And for providing this shall be sufficient warrant and this to execute Officers and others
and other the good people of this Nation of England who affilie themselves in this Court's hands and
service.

At Plymouth

For Bellam

John Blackton

John Blundell

John Bransford

John Brattenden

John Brattenden

John Brattenden

For Deane

John Deane

For Fenton

John Fenton

For Gwynne

John Gwynne

For Hart

John Hart

For Hause

John Hause

John Hause

John Hause

John Hause

John Hause

John Hause

For Lander

John Lander

John Lander

John Lander

John Lander

John Lander

John Lander

For Mayne

John Mayne

John Mayne

John Mayne

John Mayne

John Mayne

For Norton

John Norton

John Norton

John Norton

John Norton

John Norton

For Scroope

John Scroope

John Scroope

John Scroope

John Scroope

John Scroope

For Temple

John Temple

John Temple

John Temple

John Temple

John Temple

For Weston

John Weston

THE WARRANT TO EXECUTE CHARLES I

From the original in the House of Lords.
(See notes on plates p. 101.)

OF CHARLES I

rested, and executed on the 16th October. He denied all share in the execution of the King. It seems probable that Joyce was the headsman, and if not Joyce, then Brandon. In the Sloane MSS. (185), at the British Museum, is a letter, dated 1741, from a missionary in South Carolina named Pigott, who writes, that when he resided in New England, one John Davis, who came there soon after the Restoration, was said to have been implicated in the Rebellion ; and on his deathbed confessed that he was John Dixwell, one of the regicide judges, and, further, ‘that he was the very person who did sever the King’s head from his shoulders.’ John Dixwell was one of the regicides, and undoubtedly died in 1689, at Newhaven, Connecticut, where his tomb is, and where his descendants still flourish ; but the story of his having executed the King may be rejected.

Bishop Juxon, as we shall see (p. 38), was kept in ‘restraint’ from the 27th to the 31st January.

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

He was questioned by the Parliamentary authorities immediately he left the scaffold on the 30th. They took from him the George, and the other articles given to him by the King, and also sundry papers which the King had entrusted to his care. Being asked to explain the mysterious word ‘Remember,’ uttered by the King on the scaffold just previous to his death, the Bishop answered that it referred to previous conversations, and was merely to remind him to give to the Prince of Wales the George,¹ and to also beg the Prince to forgive his father’s murderers. After the execution, the Garter was at once removed from the King’s knee, and even the young Princess Elizabeth was in heartless fashion deprived of the two seals which her father had given her when he bade her farewell; for we read in the Commons’ Journals of the 31st January, the day after the King’s death :—

¹ In corroboration of this, see letter from Charles II. to Mrs. Twisden, p. 63.

OF CHARLES I

‘Commissary-General Ireton reports a paper of divers particulars touching the late King’s body, his George, his Diamond and two seals.

The Question being put, That the Diamond be sent to Charles Stuart, son of the late King, commonly called Prince of Wales ; it passed with the Negative.

The Question being put, that the Garter be sent to him ; it passed with the Negative.

The Question being put, that the George be sent to him ; it passed with the Negative.

The Question being put that the seals be sent to him ; it passed with the Negative.

Colonel Harrison, Sir John Danvers, etc. etc., or any three of them, are to consider of the Particulars presented concerning the King’s body, and other things contained in that Paper presented by Commissary-General Ireton . . . and make Report to the House, etc.

Ordered. That Dr. Juxon be discharged from any restraint, by any former order of the House.’¹

And thus ends the historical portion of my chronicle of the George worn by King Charles I. at his execution.

¹ On Saturday, 27th January, the House had ‘ordered That Dr. Juxon have leave to go to, and continue with, the King in private, under the same restraint that the King is.’

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

II

THE GEORGE DESCRIBED BY ASHMOLE, HERBERT, AND
MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ. JAMES II. AND THE GEORGE.
THE PRETENDERS AND THE GEORGE. SIR RALPH
PAYNE’S MISSION TO ITALY TO RECOVER THE
GEORGE FOR THE PRINCE OF WALES.
CARDINAL YORK

A GOOD deal was written and generally accepted on the subject of this George of scaffold fame in the generations which followed upon the King’s death ; but we soon find ourselves on ground that is hardly firm.

In the year 1672, Ashmole,¹ Windsor Herald, and founder of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, published his *Institution of the Garter* in which he writes—

‘The George which his late Majesty wore at the time of his martyrdom was curiously cut in an Onyx, set

¹ Elias Ashmole was born in 1617 and died in 1692.

OF CHARLES I

about with 21 large Table Diamonds, in the fashion of a Garter: On the back of the George was the picture of his Queen, rarely well limned, set in a case of gold, the lid neatly enamelled with goldsmith's work and surrounded with another Garter adorned with a like number of equal sized Diamonds, as was the foreside.'

Ashmole's book contains three illustrations of this George by the famous engraver Hollar, which I reproduce (p. 42): One is a view of the front of the ornament, showing the Saint killing the Dragon; another is a view of the back, open and displaying the Queen's portrait; the third is a view of the back with a hinged lid closed over the portrait. No. 1, the front view, shows twenty-one diamonds; No. 2, the portrait view, twenty-two; and No. 3, the one with the hinged lid closed over the portrait, twenty-one, though the last two illustrations are intended to be from the same aspect. Hollar's engraving is dated 1666.¹

¹ Wenceslaus Hollar was born at Prague in 1607. He became a skilful engraver on copper; and, owing to the patronage of the Earl of

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

In 1681 Sir Thomas Herbert, aforementioned, then seventy-five years old, wrote his memoirs of the King’s closing days ; and in them he stated that the George which the King wore at his death

‘was cut in an onyx with great curiosity, and set about with twenty-one fair diamonds, and the reverse side with the like number.’

The next noteworthy mention of the George occurs in the *Letters* of the famous Madame de Sévigné. A jewel with such a sad and personal history would naturally be for ever sacred to the Stuarts ; and it was generally supposed that James II. took this precious relic with him when he fled to France in 1688. Madame de Sévigné writes, under date of the 28th of February 1689—

‘The King of England (the exiled James II.) started

Arundel, famed for his acquisition of inscribed marbles now at Oxford, settled in England about 1637, where he resided, except for the period 1645-52, until his death in 1677. See also note, p. 77.

THE LESSER GEORGE
Drawn by Hollar for Ashmole's "Institution of the Garter,"



II

I

III

OF CHARLES I

this morning to go to Ireland. He yesterday gave the Order of the Garter to M. de Lauzun¹ in the Church of our Lady. They there read a sort of oath, which constitutes the ceremony; the King put on him the ribbon on the other shoulder² from our Order, and a "George" which came from the late King, his father, and which is enriched with diamonds. It is worth quite ten thousand crowns.'

We may be sure that the lady is mistaken here. King James in exile, was not in a position to give away jewels worth ten thousand crowns; and it is certain that if the George in question was the one that was handed by his father, Charles I., to Bishop Juxon on the scaffold, he would not have presented it to de Lauzun or any one else. What the King did, was to use the George he was wearing at the time for the mere purpose of 'investing' the Duke, receiving it

¹ The Duke de Lauzun had assisted the Queen in her escape from London.

² The ribbon of the Garter is worn over the left shoulder; that of the French Order of the Saint Esprit was worn over the right one.

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

back again after the ceremony. In the Marquis de Ruvigny's *Jacobite Peerage* we read ‘that the infant Prince of Wales, the Duke of Powis, the Duke of Melfort and the Duke de Lauzun all received the Garter from James on the 19th April, 1692.’ Doubtless the King, before his departure for Ireland in 1689, invested the Duke with the Order; and in 1692, after his return, made some announcement or registration of the honour.

The sacred George so intimately connected with the martyrdom of Charles I. would naturally be supposed to have passed from James II. to his son the Old Pretender, and again, from the latter to his son the Young Pretender, who had adopted the title of Count of Albany. It is, therefore, quite what we should expect when we read in *Notes and Queries* (ser. ix. vol. ii. p. 264) an extract from a letter written at Rome in December 1785, which describes the Count of Albany as

OF CHARLES I

wearing the George and Garter,¹ ‘which is interesting as being the one King Charles had on when he was beheaded, and that he desired to be sent to his son.’

These passages show that there was a general belief that the scaffold George had been recovered, that James II. had carried it with him into exile, and that from him it had passed to his son and grandson. This theory was, indeed, a plausible one, and it was held by the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. This Prince was naturally greatly interested in the jewel ; and, as the Young Pretender was old and broken in health, and his heir was a Cardinal, the Prince thought some arrangement for its return to England might be possible. Accordingly, as Sir Ralph Payne,² who

¹ The Garter the King wore at his execution was sold to Ireton, and was not recovered at the Restoration (p. 61), so that the Young Pretender could not have had it. The statement as to the George is, in my opinion, equally inaccurate.

² Sir Ralph Payne, born in 1738, was son of a Governor of St. Christopher’s. He was many years in Parliament, was created K.B.

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

was a close personal friend of the Prince, was contemplating a journey to Italy, the latter requested Sir Ralph to see if there was any chance of procuring the jewel. Sir Ralph arrived at Genoa at the end of 1787; and on the 30th or 31st of January 1788,¹ the Young Pretender died at Rome, having with him his natural daughter whom he had styled Duchess of Albany, and who had resided with him for some years. A letter from Sir Ralph to the Prince of Wales² will continue the story most effectively—

‘ROME, May 28th, 1788.

SIR,—My very anxious desire of bringing to some state of decision, the event of the commission with which your Royal Highness honoured me previously to my departure from England, respecting the George of the Order of the Garter, which King Charles the First, in his dying moments, delivered into the hands of Bishop

in 1771, and Lord Lavington in 1795. He was twice Governor of the Leeward Islands, where he died, childless, in 1807.

¹ Both dates are given. Probably some writers affected the 30th as being the anniversary of his great-grandfather’s execution.

² In my possession.

OF CHARLES I

Juxon, and which descended to the late Count of Albany, has detained me at Rome some weeks. . . . On hearing of the death of the Count of Albany, I lost no time in procuring an introduction to the Duchess of Albany, daughter to the late Count, and heiress to all his jewels. . . . I look upon this business to be accomplished, provided your Royal Highness shall approve of the two conditions which have been exacted of me. . . .

The first of them is your Royal Highness's royal word that, your Royal Highness being put in possession of the desired object, the transaction shall remain a profound secret in your Royal Highness's breast. The Duchess's whole dependence (or very nearly the whole of it) is upon her uncle the Cardinal York, who allows her 12,000 Roman crowns a year, and the bulk of whose fortune she will probably inherit at his death. . . . As the Cardinal considers himself, at present, successor to all his brother's rights and dignities (imaginary as they are), he has withdrawn from the Duchess all the badges and distinctions of the different British Orders which belonged to the late Count of Albany, and which the late Count constantly wore. Fortunately the George which belonged to Charles I., was at the time of the Count's death at his palace at Florence ; and, not having been delivered by the Duchess to the Cardinal among

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

the other ensigns of the different Orders, it has escaped his attention. . . . If ever, by any unfortunate accident, the Cardinal should arrive at the knowledge that she had not only reserved from him this memorable badge, but had parted with it, particularly to a Prince whose House he considers as inimical to his Family ; his temper, which is naturally impetuous, would certainly be exasperated to a degree most fatal to his niece, whom he would probably in the first instance turn out of doors, after stripping her of every comfort, as well as circumstance of magnificence in which she has been supported since the death of her Father. . . . Your Royal Highness will probably agree that the Duchess has some colour of reason for desiring that formal pledge of secrecy which is the preliminary condition of her cession of the George. . . .

I am now to state to your Royal Highness the second preliminary. . . . Your Royal Highness is to be informed that a certain settlement on Queen Mary, Consort of James II., which was in every respect properly recorded, and explicitly recognised by several subsequent Acts of Parliament, was due to her, with interest, at the period of the Revolution. . . . The late Count of Albany had begun to institute a renewal of this claim, but did not live to make any material progress in it. The Duchess, his daughter, succeeds to the claim as heiress to her

OF CHARLES I

Father's moiety of the debt, and assignee to that of her uncle the Cardinal, who has made it over to her. She means to revive the application which had formerly been preferred to the Court of Great Britain. . . . All that is desirable to be done at present (and this is the substance of the second condition which has been proposed to me) is, that it should be made to appear to the Duchess that whenever she may hereafter think proper to revive the subject, she may reasonably advert to your Royal Highness as a friend and auxiliary in the prosecution of her claim. . . .

The Duchess, a few days ago, in showing me a variety of the family jewels which have devolved to her by the will of her father, the late Count of Albany, put into my hands the George in question, which belonged to King Charles I. The St. George and Dragon are cut upon an onyx which is encircled by a single row of ten diamonds and rubies, set alternately, and, as well as I could measure the size of it by my eye, the length of the oval may be about two inches and a half: the breadth proportionable.'

The settlement on Queen Mary (wife of James II.) alluded to in my kinsman's letter provided that she should receive £50,000 a year during widowhood. In the negotiations for the Treaty of Ryswick of

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

1697, the King of France, on behalf of the exiled Stuarts, claimed that this payment was due to Queen Mary from 1688, in which year her husband was deposed. William III. was inclined to admit the liability, but nothing was paid to the ex-Queen. James II. died in 1701, and his widow survived until 1718. The attempts of the Pretenders in 1715 and 1745 made it hopeless for any Stuart to expect favours from the British Government; though the Count of Albany persisted in his claim that payment of Queen Mary’s income for at least the seventeen years of her widowhood, if not for the thirty years after her deposition, was due to him as her heir. Late in his life he petitioned Louis XVI. to allow his ambassador in London to move, but the French King refused. Then the Earl of Pembroke, who had lived much in Italy, was induced to approach the British Ministry; but this effort was also unsuccessful. English lawyers were next consulted, and advice to apply

OF CHARLES I

to the Court of King's Bench was given. The Stuart princes, however, would not hear of this. Such was the state of the case when Sir Ralph Payne saw the Duchess of Albany. As she had been declared legitimate by her royal father, she considered that she was heiress of his share of his grandmother's property; and the Cardinal of York had, on the 8th May 1788, assigned to her, by a document now in my possession, 'all his rights in the arrears of the dowry of the late Queen Mary, his grandmother, widow of the said James II., King of Great Britain.' On the 30th May, two days after Sir Ralph Payne's letter, before the Consul of France at Rome (in a paper also in my possession), '*milady Charlotte Stuart, Duchesse d'Albanie, par ces présentes, donne plein pouvoir à M. le Chevalier Ralph Payne, d'agir en son nom, pour le recouvrement des arriérages du douaire de la feu Reine Marie,*' etc. This was the claim in support of which the influence of the Prince of

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

Wales was solicited by the Duchess of Albany as a return compliment to her for parting with the George owned by her late father, the Young Pretender.

The reply¹ of the Prince of Wales to Sir Ralph Payne’s letter runs—

‘CARLTON HOUSE, *June 28th, 1788.*

MY DEAR SIR RALPH,—I return you many thanks for the trouble you have had on my account on the subject of the George, and I feel very sensibly the obliging conduct of the Duchess of Albany on this occasion.

I am much indebted to you for letting me into the delicate situation in which the Duchess stands, and the risque (*sic*) she incurs in parting with the article in question ; and, as it serves to heighten the favour to be conferred in the greatest degree, so will it be an additional tie, if any such could be wanting, to the most punctual observance of my sacred word that the transaction shall remain a profound secret. . . .

From your statement of the Duchess of Albany’s claims in right of her father, without any other consideration than what is suggested to me by my own honour, I feel myself bound to give every assistance in my power

¹ In my possession.

OF CHARLES I

towards the accomplishment of her wishes whenever her claims shall be transmitted hither.—I am, my dear Payne, yours sincerely,

GEORGE P.'

Sir Ralph Payne's papers contain no further information as to whether his negotiations were finally successful ; but it is more than probable that they were, because there are signs which indicate that the Prince of Wales assisted the Duchess in her claims. I possess a letter from Mr. Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville, to Lord Loughborough, afterwards Lord High Chancellor and Earl of Rosslyn, in which the former recommends that the Prince should refrain from aiding the Duchess. However that may be, the Duchess died in November 1789, and with her all her shadowy pretensions. From various sources we learn that, on the death of her father, she delivered to her uncle, the Cardinal, the Crown jewels of James II., a sceptre, the Order of the Garter, and the Cross of St. Andrew worn by Prince Charles Edward.

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

The following note, dated March 1790, is written on a fly-leaf in the British Museum copy of a book called *Correspondance Interceptée*—

'King James, when he left England, carried some of the jewels of the Crown with him. All the jewels he had, and which still remain in his family, were : A collar of St. George set with diamonds ; Two medals of that Order, one of them set with diamonds and the other with rubies and diamonds. These jewels are now in the possession of the Cardinal Duke of York.'

The writer adds 'that these jewels had been in the possession of the Duchess of Albany.' The two 'medals' here mentioned were obviously two Lesser Georges; and the second is evidently the one seen by Sir Ralph Payne in the hands of the Duchess. But the writer of the note, whoever he was, could hardly have known whether all these jewels were in the actual possession of the Cardinal. He had probably seen them in the hands of the Young Pretender or his daughter, and had taken it for granted that they passed to



I



II

I CARDINAL YORK

From a medallion dated 1788.

II THE YOUNG PRETENDER

O. Humphrey R. A. 1776.

(See notes on plates p. 101).

OF CHARLES I

the Cardinal after the death of his elder brother. By the Treaty of Tolentino, in 1797, Bonaparte exacted a very large payment from the Pope ; and it is known that the Cardinal sacrificed most of his valuables in order to assist His Holiness. A few years later, King George III., learning that the Cardinal was in great poverty, asked him to accept a reasonable allowance, which he did ; and, in gratitude, the Cardinal requested his executors to offer to the Prince of Wales any objects of historical value that he might possess at his death. He died in 1807, when his executors found only two or three articles worthy of being sent to the Prince : a ruby ring, a Cross of St. Andrew which had been worn by Charles I., and a Greater George and Collar of the Garter, all of which are now preserved in Edinburgh Castle. It is, therefore, probable that the George set with rubies and diamonds which Sir Ralph Payne saw in the possession of the Duchess of Albany, did not pass to the Cardinal.

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

III

THE RESTORATION OF THE GEORGE TO CHARLES II.

FEELING satisfied that the George set with diamonds and rubies which Sir Ralph Payne probably recovered from the Duchess of Albany, was not the jewel described by Ashmole and Herbert (pp. 40-42), and suspecting that the sacred emblem was not carried from England by James II., I proceeded to further investigations. I now place before the reader some facts which, I consider, prove that the scaffold George was recovered by Charles II. in the year following the execution of his father, and which also form a basis for a reasonable identification of the genuine relic.

The jewels received from the King on the scaffold, or taken from his body, and the seals

OF CHARLES I

which he gave to his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, the day before his execution, were, as we have seen, seized by order of the Commons, who forbade their being forwarded to the King's son. They would, therefore, doubtless remain in the hands of the Parliamentary officers, pending the passing of an Act appointing a Board of Trustees to collect, appraise, and sell all the personal property of the late King, the Queen, and the Prince. This Act was passed on July 4, 1649.

In the MSS. of Bowyer, the learned printer, quoted in Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes* (i. 526), occurs the following passage—

'Mrs. Fotherly of Rickmansworth, daughter of Sir Ralph Whitfield, first Serjeant-at-law to Charles I. and grand-daughter to Sir Henry Spelman,¹ declared to Mr. Wagstaffe² that within two days of the King's death,

¹ This famous antiquary and historian was born in 1564, and died in 1641.

² Thomas Wagstaffe was born in 1645. He was the first rector of

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

she saw, in a Spanish leather case, three of these prayers said to be delivered to the Bishop of London at his death, from whom they were taken away by the officers of the Army ; and it was from one of those officers, in whose custody they then were, that she had the favour to see them ;¹ and that the person who showed her those prayers, showed her also the “George,” with the Queen’s picture in it, and two seals which were the King’s.’

Now what officer of the Army would be more likely to have in his custody the George and the other articles taken from Bishop Juxon than Colonel Thomlinson, who had actually seen them handed to the Bishop by the King on the scaffold ? If Juxon had the choice, he would doubtless have given them to the Colonel, whom he knew had been so considerate to the King in his affliction.

the united parishes of St. Margaret Pattens and St. Gabriel Fenchurch, and was consecrated (non-juring) Bishop of Ipswich in 1694. He died in 1712. His son was Anglican chaplain to the Old Pretender.

¹ Three prayers are printed in *Works of King Charles I., civil and sacred*, published by Sam^t. Browne, Hague, 1650, which this book tells us were taken from Bishop Juxon as he left the scaffold. A curious confirmation of Mrs. Fotherly’s statement.

OF CHARLES I

The next step in the history of the George would be its sale among the King's goods. In the Harleian Papers at the British Museum are two (duplicate) lists (Harleian 4898 and 7352) of these goods, with the appraisements, the prices realised, and the names of the purchasers. Many thousands of lots are enumerated in the sales-lists of the goods of Charles I., and some of them are amusingly interesting. Thus, the famous 'cartoons of Raphaell' were appraised at £300, but found no purchaser. The picture on which the highest value was placed was 'The Madonna done by Raphaell,' which was appraised at £2000, and 'sold in a dividend as appraised.' This probably means that it was sold to a syndicate.

The Puritans, though they ordered the King's statue to be broken up (p. 69), were quite alive to the commercial value of the nude in art; and 'a sleeping Venus by Corregio' was 'sold in

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

a dividend’ for £1000, its appraisement; and ‘the great Venus and Parde done by Tytsian,’ valued at £500, was sold to Col. Hutchins for £600. The ‘unicorn’s horn from Windsor’ was valued at £500! but was not sold. It was returned to Windsor at the Restoration, and is, perhaps, still there. The Act authorising these sales prescribed the reservation of goods useful for State purposes to a fixed amount, and we find in the lists—

‘Ten pieces of Arras hangings . . . of Abraham,’ appraised at £8,260 . . . ‘now in the use of ye Lord Protector.’

Again—

‘Sold 1649, Aug. 1, to Mr. Jno. Leigh, goods for £109, 5s., which were for the use of ye then Lieut.-Gen^rl Cromwell.

Aug. 15. To the Rt. Honble. ye late Lady Cromwell, goods for £200.’

In these sale lists of the property of Charles I. I also find the following items:—

OF CHARLES I

'Recd. from Captain Preston A Garter of blew vellett sett with 412 small dyamonds valued at £160 Sold Mr. Ireton ye 3rd Jany. 1650, for £205.'

'Recd. from Coll. Thomlins A George of gold sett with dyamonds, valued at . . . £70 Sold Mr. W. Widmor ye 17 May 1650 for £70.'

As Preston was one of the officers of his household (p. 32) to whom the King's body was entrusted, and was also Keeper of the Robes, we may be sure that the Garter above-mentioned was that worn by the King on the scaffold. The purchaser was a brother of Cromwell's son-in-law Ireton, who reported on the King's jewels, his body, etc. (p. 38). This brother was Lord Mayor of London in 1658. At the Restoration he was ordered to return the Garter, but he had probably broken it up and disposed of the diamonds. However this may be, he could not produce it; and he was accordingly sued in an

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

action of Trover and Conversion in the King’s Bench, in Trinity Term, 1664, and condemned to pay £205 and £10 costs.

In connection with the George mentioned in the sale list as having been sold to Mr. Widmor, there is no doubt that ‘Coll. Thomlins’ is a clerical error, or abbreviation, for ‘Colonel Thomlinson.’ As one of the chief Parliamentary officers who had been on the scaffold, it is, as we have already said, highly probable that Colonel Thomlinson was entrusted with the objects taken from Juxon pending the appointment of contractors for the sale of the late King’s goods; and that he was also the officer of the Army in whose custody Mrs. Fotherly saw the George just after the King’s death. If, therefore, this George did come from Colonel Thomlinson, of which there is small doubt, it is practically certain that it was the famous George of the scaffold.

But there is even stronger evidence to this

COLONEL THOMLINSON



COLONEL HACKER



(See notice on plates p. 101, 102).

OF CHARLES I

effect. Among the papers preserved by the Evelyn family with their celebrated ancestor's Diary, is a copy of the following remarkable letter, written by Charles II. twenty months after his father's death (printed in Bray's edition of Evelyn, 1851, vol. iv. p. 196) :—

‘MRIS. TWISDEN,—Having assurance of your readiness to perform what I desired of you by my letter of the 7th February from Jersey according to your Brother’s promise, in order to the conveying to me the George and Seals left me by my blessed Father, I have again employed this bearer (in whom I have very much confidence) to desire you to deliver the said George and Seals into his hand for me, assuring you that, as I shall have great reason thereby to acknowledge your own and your Brother’s civilities and good affections in a particular so dearly valued by me, so I will not be wanting, when by God’s blessing I shall be enabled, deservedly to recompense you both for so acceptable a service done to Your loving Friend,

CHARLES R.

ST. JOHNSTON,¹ 2 O’ber 1650.’

¹ St. Johnstone is another name for Perth. The letter is dated a month after the battle of Dunbar.

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

Now, this Mrs. Twisden was a sister of Colonel Thomlinson, and the letter proves that her brother was in negotiation, through her, with the young King, Charles II., for the return of the scaffold George before February 1650. There can be no doubt that these negotiations did result in the return of the George to the King, because Mrs. Twisden's husband, and her brother Colonel Thomlinson, were both markedly favoured at the Restoration. Mr. Twisden, though he had been made a Serjeant-at-law under Cromwell, was not only confirmed in that rank when Charles II. returned in 1660, but was made a Judge and knighted in that year. Colonel Thomlinson had served the Commonwealth until the end ; yet he alone of the persons connected with the late King's death was not prosecuted at the Restoration ; and in the Act of Free and General Pardon (xii. Car. II., cap. xi. s. 44), he was excepted by name from those declared incapable of bearing

OF CHARLES I

any civil or military office for having given sentence of death in any of the late illegal Courts.

It may, therefore, be taken as certain that Colonel Thomlinson had possession of the scaffold George and the two seals of Charles I.; that when he handed them in to the contractors for the sales, he kept a close watch on them, and through his sister, Mrs. Twisden, corresponded with Charles II. with a view to recovering them for him; that he induced an agent, Widmor, to buy the articles in for him at the sales, so that he, the Colonel, might eventually restore them to the King; and that he did so restore them.

In the MS. accounts of the 'Trustees for the sales of the late King's goods' at the Public Record Office, Widmor appears in a position which much strengthens the suggestion that he purchased the George from Colonel Thomlinson with a view to its eventual return to Charles II.

In the Act authorising these sales, Cromwell's

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

Parliament very properly ordered that the debts of the late King were to be the first charge on the receipts, and among these debts were included wages of his servants, and grants to such of these as were ‘necessitous.’ On May the 24th, 1650, the Trustees for the sales, in consideration of his name appearing ‘in the Necessitous List of the late King’s servants,’ authorise the Treasurers to ‘make payment unto Wm. Widmor of eighty-one pounds in part of what was allowed him in the first list.’ This document is receipted on the same day by ‘Will. Widmor.’ On the 18th June, 1650, Widmor acknowledges the receipt of a similar payment of one hundred and thirteen pounds ‘in part of what was allowed,’ etc., to which, however, is added the limitation that the sum ‘is to be discounted in consideration of the contract by him made ye 28th May, 1650.’ Again, on the 5th August, he acknowledges a similar payment of £32, 5s. 3d., ‘to be discounted

OF CHARLES I

for and in consideration of his contract dated
2 July, 1650.'

Returning to the sales lists in the British Museum, we find, in the summary of accounts, these three entries:—

'1650 sold,

May 14. To Mr. Wm. Widmor goods for £81.

* * * * *

May 28. To Mr. Wm. Widmor goods for £113.

* * * * *

July 2. To Mr. Wm. Widmor goods for £45, 7s. 8d.'

What is proved by these documents? First and foremost that Widmor had been a servant of the King, and was, therefore, just the person to whom Thomlinson would apply for assistance in recovering the jewels for that King's son. From a comparison of the documents it appears that the Trustees granted Widmor, as a necessitous servant of the late King, a sum of £226, 5s. 3d. (the total of the three items which they authorised their

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

Treasurers to pay him).¹ He then expressed his wish to take this sum out in what we may term ‘a contra account,’ in the form of goods at the sales. The Trustees therefore paid him the amount (or probably debited him with it, without any passing of money) of his first purchase (£8*i*) on account ; and so with that of his second purchase ; but when it came to his third purchase (£4*5*, 7*s.* 8*d.*) there was only £3*2*, 5*s.* 3*d.* left to his credit. They therefore paid him that sum, and he had to make up the balance of £1*3*, 2*s.* 5*d.* out of his pocket. The George was apparently paid for out of his first or second grant. It is to be noted that it is not always possible to trace goods in the sales list, as many small articles were put together as a ‘parcel of plate,’ etc. Moreover, the items were entered in the lists as they came into the hands of

¹ If this seems to be a large sum to grant to a servant, it may be observed that the term ‘servant’ in the King’s household might imply an officer of almost any rank. It was applied to Sir Thomas Herbert, who was a cousin of Lord Pembroke.

OF CHARLES I

the Trustees, the names of purchaser and price being added when they were sold, perhaps two or three years later. I am, for instance, unable to trace the ‘seals’; nor can I find particulars of the sale of several Georges which T. Beauchamp is stated by Ashmole to have bought for £136 (p. 87), though the summary of the sales records—

‘1651, Nov. 3. To Thos. Beauchamp goods for £136.’

We know that many pictures and jewels were bought at these sales by Stuart sympathisers with the intention of eventually returning them to Charles II. For instance, this T. Beauchamp, who was clerk to the contractors, purchased many hundreds of pounds’ worth of jewels that had belonged to Charles I.; and after the Restoration he received large sums from the Treasury for discovering and effecting their return. So, too, the brass statue of Charles I., which is now at Charing Cross, was sold by Cromwell’s Parliament

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

to one Rivett, a brazier in Holborn, under strict conditions that he should break it up. Rivett, however, buried it and produced it after the Restoration, probably to his great advantage. If Colonel Thomlinson restored the jewel, it is only fair to him, as a Cromwellian, to say that there was no disloyalty to the Commonwealth in his action. The restoration of the George to Charles II. was of no political effect ; the Commonwealth had received its value in money ; and as Colonel Thomlinson had learned to respect Charles I. in his last days, and had earned his regard, it was merely an act of humanity to restore to the bereaved son a relic that had received so awful a consecration.

I consider, therefore, it is proved that Charles II., in 1650 or 1651, recovered the George which his father wore on the scaffold.



CROMWELL

as adapted from Vandyck's picture of Charles I now at Windsor.
(See notes on plates p. 102.)



THE PORTRAIT OF CROMWELL
as re-adapted to one of Charles I after the Restoration.

(See notes on plates p. 102)

OF CHARLES I

IV

THE HOLLAR GEORGE. THE GEORGE OWNED BY THE DUCHESS OF ALBANY

So far, we have mentioned three definite theories touching the George worn by Charles I. on the scaffold :—

- (1) That it was the George drawn by Hollar and described by Ashmole in his book, to which I shall presently refer again more fully.
- (2) That it was the George, set with diamonds and rubies, shown to Sir Ralph Payne by the Duchess of Albany, which, it is evident, was not the one drawn by Hollar and described by Ashmole. It is also certain this one could not have

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

been the George set with diamonds only that was bought by Widmor.

- (3) That it was the George purchased by Widmor in the sales of the King's goods, in support of which theory, and in the subsequent return of the jewel to Charles II., I have offered very strong evidence.

Now, as to the George drawn by Hollar and described by Ashmole in his book on the Garter (p. 40), I have come to the conclusion that this cannot be taken to represent the one worn by the King at his martyrdom.

At first sight, indeed, the evidence in its favour appears strong: Hollar's engraving dated 1666, Ashmole's description (p. 40) published in 1672, and Sir Thomas Herbert's account of it (p. 42) written in 1681, are all in perfect agreement as to the number of diamonds it contained. But it is this very agreement which gives cause for suspicion.

OF CHARLES I

Herbert's description, as given in his *Memoirs*, was written when he was seventy-five years old, thirty-two years after the King's death ; and he accompanied it with a letter to Dugdale¹ containing this passage—

‘ Seeing it is your further desire I should recollect what I can well remember upon that sad subject more at large, I am willing to satisfy you therein so far forth as my memory will assist. Some short notes of occurrences I then took which in their long interval of time and several removes with my family are either lost or mislaid, so as at present I cannot find them.’

Now how could this septuagenarian remember with such accuracy the number of stones in a jewel which he may have seen a few times thirty-two years before ? And to whom were his letter and memoir addressed ? To Dugdale, the father-in-law of Ashmole, the latter being the author of that *Institution of the Garter* which contains Hollar's

¹ Sir William Dugdale, the celebrated antiquarian and author, 1605 1686, was Garter principal King of Arms under Charles II.

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

engraving. Ashmole's book had been published nine years before Herbert wrote, and Herbert was doubtless familiar with it as being a work written by his friend's son-in-law. If Herbert's account of the scaffold George be compared with Ashmole's (pp. 40, 42), the verbal coincidences suffice to prove that he merely repeated Ashmole's description. It is equally demonstrable that Ashmole's description, published in 1672, was written 'up to' Hollar's engraving of 1666. If this view be accepted, then these three witnesses are reduced to one : Hollar—or rather Ashmole, for it is the latter who asserts that the illustration by Hollar represented the scaffold George.

And what was Hollar's position ? He was employed, not to reproduce this particular George of the scaffold, but to illustrate Ashmole's large book, which contains several plates by him, in which all the insignia of the Garter are represented. In no list, in no collection, is there now



CHARLES I
By Mytens, 1628.

OF CHARLES I

to be found a George at all resembling the one in Hollar's drawing.

It is, however, certain that Charles I. at one time did possess a George more or less resembling the one drawn by Hollar for Ashmole's book. Hollar came to London about 1634, and for ten years was largely employed by Charles I., and was also drawing-master to the Prince of Wales (Charles II.). Several engraved portraits of the King by this artist are extant that are excellent likenesses. These portraits were no doubt taken from life, and in all of them the King wears a George more or less similar to the one depicted in Ashmole's book. In the very fine engraving, after a portrait by Mytens (p. 74), the George which the King is wearing resembles the one drawn by Hollar for Ashmole, even to the exceptional peculiarity of the horse, on which the saint is mounted, galloping to the left, instead of to the right, as is its usual position.

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

The most probable theory is that Hollar being asked by Ashmole to illustrate his book, and recollecting a George with the Queen’s portrait in it, which he had seen the King wearing some years before his execution, described it to the author as being the one worn on the scaffold. Ashmole would naturally appropriate a suggestion which would add so much interest to his book, and so Hollar sketched a George for him from memory. It is most unlikely that the artist could have recalled so accurately the exact number of the stones with which the George he recollects the King wearing was ornamented, for he drew it in 1666, seventeen years after the King’s death, and a still longer period since he had last seen it, for Hollar was abroad for some years before the tragedy of Whitehall. In any case it is clear that he did not draw his sketch from a George that was before him, for he blunders over

OF CHARLES I

the number of stones in the back of the jewel (illustration, p. 42).¹

For these reasons it is evident that Hollar drew from memory a George he had seen Charles I. wearing many years previously ; that he added the portrait of the Queen to it because he knew that the King formerly wore a George containing one ; and that he assumed, without any real grounds for doing so, that the jewel he remembered was the one the King wore at his execution.² Further, there is in the Royal Collection at Windsor a miniature of Queen Henrietta Maria, by P. Oliver, which I have been graciously permitted to inspect. This miniature of the Queen and the

¹ Hollar even omits the scroll or Garter and its motto. The motto alone makes the Lesser George a Garter decoration, and every such George shows one as a matter of course.

² Hollar served as a Royalist soldier, was taken prisoner by the Parliamentarians in 1645, allowed to return to the Continent soon after, and returned to England in 1652. He was abroad, therefore, from four years before the King's death till three years after, and, except from hearsay, would know nothing of the scaffold George.

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

likeness of her given by Hollar in his drawing (p. 42), resemble each other so closely as to suggest that the latter was drawn from or 'after' the miniature at Windsor, and, therefore, not from a portrait in any George, either the famous one or another.

Ashmole, in his book, is very full and accurate as to the history and location of the jewels he describes. He gives us, for instance, all the particulars of the recovery by Charles II. of the George which that King was forced to abandon after the battle of Worcester, as well as of several Georges that were sold by the Trustees for the late King's goods. Yet he has not a word to say concerning this all-important George drawn for his book by Hollar, except that it was worn by Charles I. on the scaffold, twenty-three years before! Though he writes that it contained forty-two diamonds and a portrait, he apparently had no idea where it was, or even if it was in existence when he wrote.¹

¹ I have shown that Charles II. recovered the scaffold George, but

OF CHARLES I

This silence on his part is the more noticeable because not only does he record (as we shall see presently) the history in full of various other Georges, but he had, in May 1662, been appointed one of the ‘Commissioners’ for recovering the late King’s goods. If Ashmole had been able to do so, he would naturally have traced the history of the sacred and historic jewel of the scaffold which had been officially referred to the House of Commons on the day after the King’s execution.

The inference is that the George drawn for Ashmole by Hollar was not the one worn by Charles I. at his execution ; that Ashmole was not cognisant of the fact that, at the time he wrote, the genuine ornament had been restored to Charles II., through the negotiation of Colonel Thomlinson and his sister, Mrs. Twisden (p. 63) ;

Ashmole was evidently ignorant of the fact. If he had known this, or knew where the relic was, he would assuredly have said so in his book.

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

and that, in fact, he knew nothing about the scaffold George beyond the suggestion of Hollar.

There can be small doubt that Hollar drew from memory a George he had seen the King wearing some twenty years before, long before, that is, the execution at Whitehall, and that Ashmole then wrote a description of it as being the one Charles wore at his martyrdom, though neither artist nor author could have known what the jewel was really like which the King gave to Bishop Juxon on the scaffold. But they, perhaps, naturally imagined that the King went to his death wearing over his heart the badge which Hollar remembered as containing a portrait of the Queen, whom her husband had not seen since her flight to France in 1644.

It is, on the other hand, very likely that Charles's notably fine taste led him to discard the inartistic George, depicted by Hollar in Ashmole's book, for the much more elegant jewel I shall presently

OF CHARLES I

describe, and that he had the portrait transferred from the former to the latter, or a new one inserted in it. The older George would then probably be dismantled, and may have been among the ‘broken’ ones¹ that Charles described to Herbert as being all that was left to him of his worldly goods (p. 22).

With regard to the George shown to Sir Ralph Payne by the Duchess of Albany at Rome in 1788, I am equally incredulous. Sir Ralph makes no mention of its containing a portrait, which he could not well have failed to notice had it been present; and even if he did handle it without detecting this feature, we may be sure that, if it existed, the Duchess, with her woman’s sentimentiality, would have pointed out to him this historic proof of the identity of the jewel with the one of scaffold fame. The row of ten diamonds

¹ ‘Broken’ Georges, I take to mean cast-off Georges from which the jewels had been removed; for such badges—especially the King’s—would not have been liable to accidental damage.

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

and rubies set alternately round its margin shows, moreover, that it could not have been the George drawn for Ashmole by Hollar, or the one purchased in the sales of the King's goods by Widmor.

Though from the letter of Dundas to Lord Loughborough (p. 53) we may assume that the jewel negotiated for by Sir Ralph Payne was received by the Prince of Wales from the Duchess of Albany, it is curious that nothing like it is to be found among King Edward's many Georges at Windsor.

I rather feel that in the account of the transactions between the Prince of Wales and Sir Ralph Payne I have raised a theory merely to destroy it, but as the notes and letters quoted under this head contain matters of considerable historic interest regarding the exiled Stuarts, I have retained them.

The legend that the Stuarts had the sacred relic of the scaffold with them in exile is, indeed, specious; but it is just one of those legends that

OF CHARLES I

would be sure to grow up round a banished Royal House. If, however, we consider the matter practically, we must come to the conclusion that the jewel could hardly have been taken out of England. It was then the custom of our Princes (as, indeed, it is the duty of every knight under the Statutes of the Garter) to wear the George *always*. Charles II. certainly had a George before he received back from Mrs. Twisden the one which his father wore on the scaffold ; and Ashmole gives an account of the one he wore at the battle of Worcester, which shows very clearly that it was not the scaffold George of Charles I. James II. would also have worn a George from boyhood, and would have had one about his neck when he fled abroad in 1688. The George of Charles I. would doubtless be stored away in some safe treasure-house, perhaps in the Tower ; and, in flying from his kingdom, James II. would have had little time for collecting family heirlooms to

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

take with him in his flight, however precious they might have been as sentimental relics of his family.

There can be no doubt that Charles I. wore on the scaffold a George set with diamonds and containing a portrait of his Queen,¹ and I am confident that this George was recovered by Charles II.² It is, however, curious that Charles II., if he had the real George in his possession, did not direct Ashmole to alter the drawing of it in his book, if it was incorrectly represented therein. To that I answer that the King may have considered the matter unimportant, or he may have thought it beneath his dignity to correct a book written by one of his heralds. Or it might be he did not care to let it be known that during the Commonwealth he had been in secret negotiations with the rebel, Colonel Thomlinson, especially as this

¹ *Vide* statement by Mrs. Fotherly, p. 57.

² *Vide* letter from Charles II. to Mrs. Twisden, and comments, pp. 63, 64.



CHARLES I AND QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.
Van dyck, 1634.

OF CHARLES I

would have explained the favour with which the Colonel, and his relative Sir Thomas Twisden, were treated at the Restoration.

In this chapter I have shown objections to either the Hollar or the Albany George being accepted as that worn by the King on the scaffold. I will now endeavour to identify an existing George with the historic ornament.

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

V

IDENTIFICATION OF THE SCAFFOLD GEORGE.

SUMMARY OF ITS HISTORY

WE are not without information as to the Lesser Georges in the possession of the Stuart Kings. I have already quoted (p. 61), from the book of sales of the property of Charles I., the description of the George which was bought by Mr. Widmor, and which I believe to have been the one that the King wore on the scaffold.¹ Ashmole enumerates five others, which were purchased at these sales by Thomas Beauchamp, on the 15th October, 1651, in the following terms :—

¹ For evidence of this consult pp. 62-68.

OF CHARLES I

		Valued at	Sold for
'(1) A George containing 161 diamonds, which came from the Countess of Leicester and was discovered by Cornelius Holland		£60	£71
(2) A George cut in an Onyx with 41 diamonds in the Garnish .	35	37	
(3) A small George set with a few diamonds	8	9	
(4) A George with 5 Rubies and 3 diamonds and 11 diamonds in a box	10	11	
(5) A George cut in a Garnet	7	8	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£120	£136'	

These Georges are not mentioned in the book of sales; but there are several lots therein, representing parcels of jewellery, which are not described in detail; and there is also an entry that on the 3rd November 1651 — or nineteen days after Beauchamp's purchase—'goods for £136' were delivered to him. Now, as Beauchamp either

THE SCAFFOLD ‘GEORGE’

retained these jewels, or would know to whom he had parted with them, and as he subsequently received several grants from Charles II. for discovering and effecting the return of the late King’s jewels, we may safely infer that most of these Georges were returned into the new King’s hands. This theory is strengthened by the fact that Ashmole, who describes them in his book written in 1672, had in May 1662 been appointed one of the Commissioners for recovering the late King’s goods.

Again, among the MSS. in the British Museum (Harleian 1890) is a list of the jewels of James II. which is dated the 19th March, 1687. In this list we find—

- ‘6. One Onyx George adorned and set with 16 large diamonds and 25 less.
7. One lesser Onyx George adorned and set with 16 great diamonds and 19 lesser.
8. One George set with several sparks of diamonds.
9. One Onyx George set and adorned with 38 larger rose diamonds and 4 smaller in the loupe.’

OF CHARLES I

It also mentions ‘forty Georges,’ not more fully described, as in the King’s possession.

Of the Georges in these two lists (which I have numbered consecutively for the reader’s convenience) Nos. 2 and 6 are probably the same, by reason of the identical number of diamonds they contained. No. 4 is, presumably, the George which Sir Ralph Payne saw in the hands of the Duchess of Albany with its ‘ten diamonds and rubies set alternately,’ as (assuming his number to be quite accurate) in the rapid seizure, transport, and sale of the royal property a couple of diamonds may easily have been lost, and others substituted later. No. 7 I believe to be the George purchased by Widmor, and the one worn by Charles I. on the scaffold.

If the scaffold George was not carried abroad by James II., then it is doubtless in existence to-day, and Windsor Castle, as the great storehouse of the more ancient and historic treasures of the

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

reigning monarch, is the place in which we should naturally expect to find it.

In the Royal Collection in that venerable palace is an old and, if I may use the term, dismantled George of which I am graciously permitted to give a representation. As will be seen, it is quite unlike Hollar's drawing in Ashmole's book. In this George, the Garter, with the motto which surrounds the Onyx carving of St. George and the Dragon, was at one time encircled by an edging of sixteen large gems. All are now gone, but it is clear that they were rose, and not table diamonds.¹ It has at its back a space for a portrait which has long since vanished. It is (and this is very strong evidence in its favour) the only existing George known to have been fitted with a portrait, though the St. Andrew's Cross, now at Edinburgh, which was bequeathed to George iv. by the Cardinal of York, has a portrait

¹ In Hollar's drawing, and in Ashmole's text, they are table diamonds.

THE LESSER GEORGE

In the Royal Collection at Windsor. (actual size).

(See notes on plates p. 103).



OF CHARLES I

of his mother, placed similarly under a lid at its back. We may be sure that no one except a real or claimant Sovereign of the Order would presume to place his wife's portrait at the back of his George. Now this, I have very little doubt, is the George worn by Charles I. on the scaffold. The absence of the portrait and stones in the George at Windsor is not remarkable, as they were probably extracted in the period of at least five months between its sale to Widmor and its return to Charles II. by Colonel Thomlinson, a probability which is increased if it was not in the possession of the Colonel all this time. If the diamonds were not removed during this interval, they may have been taken out at some later date, perhaps under a King who was unaware of the associations of the badge, when stones were required for decorating other ornaments.

It is true the Windsor George agrees to some extent with Nos. 2 and 6 of my lists (pp. 87, 88) ;

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

but if, as is very probable, and as I have suggested, Nos. 2 and 6, by reason of the identical number of diamonds they contain, refer to the same jewel, then, of course, this jewel cannot be the one of scaffold associations, because No. 2 was sold to Beauchamp, not to Widmor.

The Windsor George corresponds very nearly with No. 7 in the Harleian list (p. 88), or the one described as a 'lesser Onyx George adorned and set with sixteen great diamonds and nineteen lesser' which we know from that list was in the possession of James II. in 1687. The number of the larger stones, as given in No. 7, agrees with the spaces now vacant in the ornament at Windsor, and as to the nineteen lesser diamonds, a glance at my reproduction will show that sixteen of these might have been inserted in the spaces between the larger stones, while the loupe would probably hold three more. Further, in the central portrait in Vandyke's famous threefold picture of Charles I.,



CHARLES I AS HE SAT IN COURT AT HIS TRIAL

From an engraving after the picture at All Soul's College, Oxford.

(See notes on plates p. 105).

OF CHARLES I

the King appears to be wearing a George containing the motto inside the gems, as it is in the jewel at Windsor.¹ (See frontispiece.)

Again, in the life-sized original of one of the illustrations given of King Charles at his trial (p. 20), a George may be seen suspended from his neck that closely resembles in its size and oval shape, and in the number of its larger stones, the one at Windsor (p. 90).

This in itself is strong evidence of its identity, as there can be no doubt that the George the King wore at his trial was the one he wore on the scaffold a few days afterwards. Lastly, this George at Windsor has long been traditionally known as the Juxon George.

If it is objected that the sale-list contains no

¹ This picture gives a curious proof of the genuineness of another relic of Charles I. The Duke of Portland possesses a pearl which Queen Mary II. stated had been taken from her grandfather's ear after death. One would have expected that there would be a pair of these pearls ; but Vandyck's triple portrait shows the pearl in his left ear, while the right one is unadorned.

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

mention of the portrait of the Queen, I reply that it might have been removed, or that the appraisers might easily have handled the George when closed without noticing its hinged lid.

If I am right, the history of the George at Windsor is as follows—

It was given to Bishop Juxon on the scaffold by King Charles I. on the 30th of January, 1649, and taken from Juxon by the Parliamentary authorities, probably by Colonel Thomlinson, on the same day. On the 31st, Parliament refused to send it to Charles II. On the 1st or 2nd of February it was seen in the possession of an officer of the Army by Mrs. Fotherly, and it probably remained with that officer until after the 4th July, when the Act for the sale of the King's goods was passed, and when it would have been handed over to the official contractors. It was then purchased from the contractors by Widmor, on the 17th May, 1650. If the Army officer, in

OF CHARLES I

whose hands Mrs. Fotherly saw it, and who handed it over to the contractors, was Colonel Thomlinson—which is practically certain from the marginal note in the book of sales—then the Colonel had certainly arranged with Widmor—a former servant of Charles I.—first to buy it and then to sell it back to him (the Colonel), with the special intent of returning it to Charles II. It was so returned to Charles II. (either with or without the diamonds and portrait) by the Colonel's sister, Mrs. Twisden, some time after the 2nd of October, 1650; and from that monarch it has passed through his heirs and successors to King Edward VII., in whose keeping may it long remain!

In the MSS. of the well-known antiquary Joseph Hunter, in the British Museum, are quoted (about 1850) several original ‘certificates of the Contractors for the sale of the goods of the late King Charles I., to the Treasurers of the said

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

sale.' These documents, which refer to pictures only, give particulars of the works sold and of the purchasers. If the certificates for the jewels could also be found, they would no doubt throw some further light on the matter of Mr. Widmor's George. Unfortunately, Hunter does not tell us where he saw the certificates he quotes, and it has not been possible to find them; though the courteous officers of the British Museum and the Public Record Office have given me unstinted help. Possibly, this publication may lead to the revelation of their present resting-place.

I venture to hope that if I have not proved my case indisputably, I have made out a very strong one. I see no evidence to controvert it, except Ashmole's description of Hollar's drawing; and even that agrees with my deductions in the main, differing only in minor details, as would be natural on the simple and not incriminating theory that Hollar made his sketch of the scaffold George from memory or tradition.

NOTES ON THE PLATES

CHARLES I.

(*Frontispiece.*)

FROM the original picture at Windsor Castle. Painted by Vandyck in 1637, in three aspects, to assist Bernini the Sculptor who was engaged on a bust of the King.

After the Restoration, this bust by Bernini was returned to Whitehall, where it remained till the reign of William III., when it is supposed to have perished in the fire that destroyed the Palace, with the exception of the Banqueting Hall.

Cardinal Richelieu had previously had a triple portrait of himself done with a view to assisting a sculptor, and this probably suggested a similar expedient on the part of Charles I.

When Bernini first saw Vandyck's picture of Charles, he is said to have exclaimed 'that it represented the face of a man who was likely to suffer some great affliction.'

CHARLES I. AS HE APPEARED AT HIS TRIAL (p. 20)

BOWER *pinxit.*

From the original picture, life-size, in the possession of General Sir Reginald Pole-Carew, of Antony, Cornwall, where it has remained since it was painted.

There are replicas at Oxford, St. Andrews University, Badminton, Belvoir, and Peniarth, which were produced for the more prominent adherents of the King, as, for instance, the picture at Badminton, which was done for the Lord Worcester who defended Raglan Castle with such gallantry.

Edward Bower is chiefly known as the painter of this portrait

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

at Antony, though he also did pictures of Lord Fairfax and a few other celebrated men, some of these having been engraved by Hollar.

There are two points connected with the portrait at Antony that are curiously corroborative of its authenticity.

(1) The King is shown with a staff in his left hand.¹ We know he had a staff at his Trial, for we read in Herbert's *Memoirs*, Tuesday, 23rd January :—'The King was the third time summoned, and, as before, guarded to the Court. . . . The Solicitor began to offer something to the President of the Court, but was interrupted by the King gently laying his staff upon the Solicitor's arm, the head of which happened to fall off, which Mr. Herbert [who, as his Majesty appointed, waited near his chair] stooped to take up, but the head falling on the contrary side, to which he could not reach, the King took it up himself. This incident by some was looked upon as a bad omen.'

Sir Philip Warwick in his *Memoirs* also gives an account of the incident of the staff and its head, though he differs slightly from Sir Thomas Herbert in details. Sir Philip writes—

'The King's deportment was very majestic . . . and yet, as he confessed himself to the Bishop of London, who attended him, one action shocked him very much; for whilst he was leaning in the Court upon his staff, which had an head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden; he took it up but seemed unconcerned, yet told the Bishop "it really made a great impression upon him, and to this hour (says he) I know not possibly how it should come." It was an accident, writes Sir Philip, "I confess I myself have often thought on, and cannot imagine how it came about, unless Hugh Peters [who was truly and really the King's gaoler, for at St. James' nobody went to him but by Peter's leave] had artificially tampered upon his staff; but such conjectures are of no use."

¹ In the replica at Belvoir, the King also has a staff, but in his right hand.

NOTES ON THE PLATES

The staff was inherited by Colonel Dugald Stuart of Temsford Hall, Bedfordshire, to whom it descended through an ancestor who lived in the time of Charles I. Temsford was burnt down in 1898, and the staff perished in the fire that destroyed the house.

This staff was used by Charles I. in his walk from St. James' to Whitehall on the day of his execution, and was given by the King, together with a gold coin he had in his pocket, to Bishop Juxon. It had had a gold head with a cornelian set in it, was of cane, and had a silk tassel. The staff shown in the picture at Antony is precisely similar to the one formerly at Temsford. As to the gold coin, it is supposed to be the one which the authorities of the British Museum recently purchased for £770, and which is said to have been given to Bishop Juxon on the scaffold by Charles I. The King having handed his George to the Bishop to give to the Prince of Wales, perhaps bethought him of the coin as a memento for the Prelate to retain for himself. It was exhibited by H. Montague, Esq., in the collection of Stuart relics held in 1889, and was then described as 'a pattern five broad piece that was given to Juxon by Charles I. on the scaffold.' On one side of this coin are the Royal Arms, on the other 'Florent Concordia Regna.'

(2) The King is represented with a full beard, which suggests that the artist did actually draw his picture, or at all events the sketch for it, from life, as Charles sat at his trial ; for no painter would add a beard to his face unless he had actually seen it. The beard was no doubt allowed to grow during the King's close confinement at Hurst Castle and Windsor during the last two months of his life. A strange corroboration of this is that when the coffin of Charles was opened at Windsor in 1813, the head of the King had a short but full beard attached to it, as is to be seen in a careful drawing that was made at the time for Sir H. Vaughan's account of the disinterment.

As further confirmation that Charles I. wore a beard at his trial and execution, I will quote from one of the original MSS.

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

of Sir Thomas Herbert's *Memoirs* [*vide* Allan Fea's *Martyr King*, London, 1905 : p. 130].

'Mr. Babbington was barber, but His Majesty made little use of a barber, save at Hampton Court and Newport, where Mr. Davis was barber, for His Majesty neither let his hair (which was darkish and long and curly at the ends) nor his beard be cut during his affliction.'

In the picture at Antony, and in the replicas of it, Charles wears a hat and sits in a chair, precisely similar to those shown in Nalson's print (p. 19). The chair is now the property of the Cottage Hospital, Moreton-in-Marsh, Gloucestershire, to which it descended through Juxon's representatives. It is identical in shape and ornamentation with the one to be seen in the print and in the pictures above referred to.

WILLIAM JUXON (1582-1663) (p. 24)

BISHOP OF LONDON 1633, ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY 1660.

From an original picture at St. John's College, Oxford.

Juxon, though intimately associated in business and politics with all parties of Church and State for many troublous years, was generally beloved for his tolerance and amiable character. He was in close attendance on Charles after his trial and at his execution, nor would the King suffer any other minister of religion to approach him after he received his sentence.

THE DEATH WARRANT (p. 36)

The careful observer will notice some erasures and corrections in this important document. In line 2, 'uppon Saturday

NOTES ON THE PLATES

last was' is a correction. In line 4, 'Thirtieth' has been written in a blank space evidently intended for a longer word. The address 'To Collonell Francis Hacker, etc.' is also a correction over an erasure. These alterations suggest doubts as to the date when the warrant was drawn up, and the time originally fixed for the execution !

CARDINAL YORK (p. 54)

From a medallion of 1788, the year of his accession on the death of his brother, the Young Pretender.

Obverse: HENRY IX., King of Great Britain and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, Cardinal Bishop of
Tusculum.

Reverse: Not by the desire of men, but by the will of
God. In the year 1788.

It is noticeable that the word 'France' is omitted after 'Great Britain' and before 'and Ireland' in the inscription on the obverse of the medal. Though the Kings of England claimed the throne of France until 1801, the Pretender, and his brother the Cardinal, naturally did not put any such claim forward, as they hoped that the French King would assist their cause in England.

COLONEL THOMLINSON (p. 62)

(1617-1681)

This portrait, attributed to Mytens, was exhibited by T. E. Twisden, Esq., at the first Loan Exhibition of National Portraits at South Kensington. Colonel Thomlinson had charge of the King's person during the progress of the trial, and delivered

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE'

him up to Colonel Hacker on the day of execution, but at the King's request accompanied him to the scaffold.

Though Thomlinson attended the trial of the King on two days, one of which was the day of sentence, he did not sign the warrant (p. 36), and was pardoned after the Restoration.

At the Restoration he lost Ampthill Park, which he had acquired during the Commonwealth.

COLONEL HACKER (p. 62)

From a picture at Thornton-le-street, the property of Earl Cathcart.

Colonel Hacker was the officer in charge on the scaffold and was responsible for carrying out the sentence of execution.

He was tried after the Restoration as a Regicide, October 15, 1660, and hanged October 19.

He made no defence, other than that he was a soldier and as such merely obeyed the orders of his superiors in carrying out the death-sentence on the King.

CHARLES I. AND OLIVER CROMWELL (p. 71)

The history of these very curious prints, now in the British Museum, is unknown.

The plate from which they were both taken is obviously an impudent copy of Vandyck's great painting at Windsor Castle of Charles I. on a white horse.

The accessories are, however, changed, notably the scenery and the attendant figure.

The print of Cromwell is the earlier one, and in this the head of the Protector is shown in the place of that of the King.

After the Restoration, the head of Cromwell was erased and the likeness of Charles I. substituted, as shown in the illustration (p. 71), and as it is depicted in Vandyck's picture.

NOTES ON THE PLATES

THE SCAFFOLD 'GEORGE' OF CHARLES I. (p. 90)

In the Royal Collection at Windsor.

The large rose diamonds and the smaller ones are now all absent ; as are also the portrait and the lid that covered it.

CHARLES I. AT HIS TRIAL (p. 92)

After the picture at All Souls College, Oxford.

Incorrectly attributed to Vandyck, who died seven years before the trial of Charles I. It is interesting as so plainly showing the Lesser George, which was doubtless the one worn by the King on the scaffold a few days after his trial.

It will be noticed that the jewel closely resembles the one shown in the Antony picture (p. 20) as well as the one now at Windsor (p. 90), and that in it the effigy of the saint is to be seen riding to the right, and not, as in Hollar's illustration (p. 42), to the left.





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